Reservation of Geo. Chairman

PASSAGES

ATGENSOTA

NEWPORTA

IN THE

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PASSAGES

Which happened at

NEWPORT,

IN THE

Ine of Whight,

NOVEMB. 29. 1648.

Relating to

KING CHARLES I

WRITTEN

By Mr. EDWARD COOKE, of Highnam in Gloucestershire, fometime Colonel of a Regiment under Oliver Cromwell.

LONDON,

Printed for Richard Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard, MDCXC.

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KING CHARLES I

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E. Trust o<mark>n Codinit, of Pipinas in August</mark>e Ste Commission of **Ole Casterial and Se**

LONDONE

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Paul Candle and from the NO.

TO THE

READER.

HAT which I had read, and beard of King Charles the First, of Blessed Memory raised in me a great Veneration for bim.

This made me curious in enquiring after any Memorials which related to bim, especially such as concern'd his Solitudes and Sufferings; mbich though they did not create his Vertues, yet they encreased them, and rendred them much more Illustrious.

Among other Relations, this of Colonel Cook's came lately to my bands; and I did believe it fit to be made publick,

both

both because the Account given in it is more particular than any yet extant, and given by a Convert of Integrity, who have a great part in the Affair; and also because it shows born tender a regard that good King had to his Unoto, chusing rather to fall into the hands of cruel Men, than to give occasion to a mere appearance of the Breach of it. If all Princes were of that Disposition, their Faith would more effectually secure them one against another, than their Arms.

I shall bere say no more, than that the Dockrine which was practis'd in Forty eight, was published in English in Twenty one, in the Book entitled, [The Rights of the Prelate and the Prince] as good Roman Catholick Divinity, by J. E. with Licence of Superiors; and consequently, that John Good-

win

To the Reader.

win and John Milton were not the first

Broachers of it in England.

The strain of the whole Book is of that nature, and the following words are part of it: * And if Kings, who *Chap. 15. were not excommunicated nor de-

'prived by the Pope, may by the

'Commonwealth be deposed and

' kill'd, when they are intolerable Ty-

' rants; why may not the Common-

wealth exercise the same Power over

'Tyrants excommunicated and de-

' prived by the Pope, They, after

' Excommunication and Deprivation,

'being no more Kings, but private

Men.

Jan. 18. 1689.

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the King's inner Room, while the

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NEWPORT

Army would sitt inght feize upon

Isle of Wight, &c.

the King, 849 n. 29. MB. 29. 1648. attended

HAT Evening between the Hours of Seven and Eight, the King sent for the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Lindsey, and Col. Edward Cooke (who were all three together at the Duke of Richmond's Lodgings, in Newport, in the Isle of Wight) with all speed to attend him, who accordingly hastened to the Court; the two Lords entring into the

tile

the King's inner Room, while the Colonel waited in the outward Room for farther Orders. Tallo

The King agguarated the Lords, That one of his Servants had been sent for by a Person in a kind of disguise. who having informed him, that the Army would that Night seize upon the King's Person, abruptly lest him. The Duke of Richmond acquainting the King, 8 that Col. Cooke attended without, was commanded to call him in: The King asked him whether he had heard any thing that the Army defigned to leize upon him that Night. That he did not hear any thing to much as tending towards it; adding, Surely, if I had, Twould have acquainted the King with it. The King giving the Colonel the reason of his Question, commanded ded him to find but Major Rolph; and enquire of him, what he knew of it, (who was then left as Deputy-Governor by Col. Hammond, with Directions, That on all occasions he should address to the King through the said Colonel Cooke, as himself had usually done during the Treaty.

mands and opportunely finding Major Rolph in his Chamber, acquainted him that the King fent him to enquire of him, Whether the Army relolved to feize upon him that night. He answered, Not that he knew of; adding, You may affure the King from me, That he may rest quietly this night; for on my life be shall have no disturbance this night. Colonel Cooke objecting that he placed to much Emphasis on those words [This Night]

B 2 though

though that was all he was commanded by the King to ask, urged him farther, whether really there was any fuch design at all or not. After a little paule, he answered, It was impossible for him to know the present purposes of the Army at so great a distance, but that as yet he had received no fuch Orders. The Colonel replied, But if you shall hereafter, shall I be sure so timely to be made acquainted with them, as that the King may not be surprized with the execution of them? To which request he seemingly consented; answering, That was but a due respect to the King.

Col. Cooke thereupon returning to the King, gave him a punctual Account of all these Passages; who in the mean time having been informed, donadi

that

that a considerable number of the Army were that night landed in the Island, remanded Col. Cooke back to Major Rolph to enquire the truth thereof; who thus answered him, That he knew fresh Forces would e're long come over to relieve those that then past on Duty there, but that as yet he was not certain of their being landed. Which Answer also the Colonel returned to the King; who, in that short time of his absence, had received a farther Information, That Two thousand Foot were drawn up about Carisbrook Castle; at which the King seemed to be most startled, saying, Sure there must needs be some extraordinary Design on foot, that such a Body of Men should not only be so privately landed, but also in such a bitter night as this is, to be exposed exposed to such extremity of Weather; the Wind blowing very high, and the Rain falling very fast. The King expressing a great desire to be satisfied in the truth of this, and doubting that he might not be so clearly dealt with by Major Rolph, Colonel Cooke offered his Service to go and fee; but the King (reflecting on the severity of the Weather) refused to expose him; yet owning it an important particular, whereof to be rightly informed: which the Colonel observing, importund the King, that, if he could be so long dispensed with from His Majesty's Service there, he would give him leave to go, he knowing no other expedient for the King's certain Satisfaction. He also prest the Lords to intercede for him therein, and at last obtained leave of the King; His

His Majesty adding these gracious Expressions, That he hoped he, being young and healthy, would receive no prejudice by it, and that he might live to requite it; repeating his desire to know the truth of it.

The Colonel took leave, and having foon got himself and his Horse ready, though the night was extraordinary dark, fortunately grop'd out his way through the dark, and found the Castle; which having carefully rounded, and finding no body with out, he went to the Gate, and having performed the usual Ceremonies (as giving the Word to the Corporal) and sheltred himself under the Gate from the excess of Rain that then fell, he sent his desires to the Governor; to have one Captain Boroman Gas Gentleman of that Mand, who commanded Deak

manded a Militia-Company there) with whom he was well acquainted, to come to him: In the mean time he discoursed with the Soldiers, to try what he could get out of them; but found they were altogether ignorant, being a Company of the Islanders newly marched in; the two Army-Companies, formerly garrison'd there, being drawn down into the Town of Newport, probably to double the Guards. After a longer stay than he expected, the Messenger returned with this Excuse, That the Captain could not conveniently come out to him, but invited him in; who, when he came into the Parlour, was surprized with the sight of about a dozen Officers of the Army, most of whose Faces ho knew: And after mutual Salutation, he address'd himself to the Governor, desiring to habitung **speak**

speak with him; who (he observed) first asked, and obtained leave of those Officers; wherefore asking him in private, what he meant by that; the Governor plainly told him, he was no better than their Prisoner in his own Garrison, for they had threatned him with immediate Death, if he but for much as whispered with any of his own Servants. The Colonel asked him, whether he could imagine the Caufe of all this? He answered, He supposed there was some considerable Design on foot, but he knew not what it was; adding, That he understood that the Captain that commanded the Troop of Horse in the Island, was in the same condition, and that his Lieutenant commanded in his place; but that he knew no other cause for either, unless that they suspected that they had too much Duty-

. Passages at Newport,

for the King Which gave the Colone the opportunity of asking the par-ticular. Question, Whether he knew any thing of the King's being that Night to be lezed upon? Who answered, It was not improbable but that might be the Design, though he knew

inmediate Death, if he beet lognition Col. Cooks received as much light as the Governor could give him, took leave, and hastned to give the Kingan exact Account of all had past; but found at his return a great Alteration. at Court, Guards not only set round the King's Lodgings, and at every Window, but even within doors also; nay Sentinels on the King's very Chamben-door, so that the King was almost suffocated with the Smoak of the burning Match; which hastned the Colonel to Major Rolph, to complain of the ruderudeness of the Soldiers; whom he found in his Bed (it being now mear Twelve or One a Clock) having en servant: After his Apology, he made his Complaint, and received this Answer, That he was no way guilty of it; That the two Companies being late drawn out of the Caftle, could not that night have Quarters provided for them, and therefore he had ordered them to double the Guards, har fore feeing this would happen; but the flext day he would redress all things himself, with all due respect to the King, and confult him the faid Colonel in it; and that in the mean time he was confident on the Colone's Complaint to the Cap-tain of the Guards, the would draw off the Men from being offenfive to the King; adding, If the Colonel found which

Name to the Captain of the Guard; to whom the Colonel making his Application, in his return to the King, prevailed with him to draw off those Guards that were so great annoyance to the King, to a more tolerable distance.

At Col. Gooke's return to the King, he made him repeat over all the several Passages that had happen'd that Night; which being compared together, and duly considered by the King, the Duke of Richmond, and Earl of Lindsey (for the Earl of Southampton being indisposed, was before that time returned to his Lodgings; and the Marquels of Hartford had taken leave of the King, and left the Island that Morning, and was gon to Netley) all unanimously concluded that the Army would fuddenly seize upon the King's Person; which 0.0

which being taken for granted on all hands, the next Question was, in this desperate case, What was most advisable to be done?

The Lords argued for the King's attempting an immediate Escape; for he would better bring about a Personal Treaty with the Parliament (which he so much coveted) when out of the reach of the Army, than when within their Power; and this would certainly secure the Sasety of his Person, which else might be very probably much in danger.

But before they could proceed to debate the manner of this Escape, the King prevented it, thus arguing against the Escape itself; first arguing the difficulties, if not impossibility of accomplishing it; next the consequences, that in case he should miscarry in the

Attempt,

Attempt, it would exasperate the Army, and dishearten his Friends; and lastly, That if the Army should seize him, they must preserve him for their own sakes; for that no Party could secure their own Interests, without joyning his with it, his Son being now out of their reach.

The Earl of Lindsey replied, Take beed, Sir, lest you fall into such hands as will not steer by such Rules of Policy, remember Hampton-Court, where your Escape was your best Security. The Duke of Richmond adding, That yet he thought it feasible enough, and turning about to Colonel Cooke, asked how he passed to and fro? who answered, He had the Word. The Duke asked, Whether he believed he could pass him too? who answered, He made no question but he

he could. At which the Duke took a longer Cloak, without a Star, and made the Colonel go along with him through the Guards, and so returned again to the King, acquainting him with what he had done, and with what ease; and thence took the advantage again to persuade the King's attempting to escape.

Who on a sudden turning him-self from the two Lords that were discoursing with him at the Window, to Colonel Cooke, who stood drying himself by the Fire, said, Ned Cooke, What do you advise me in this case? Who humbly answered, He suspected his own Judgment too much, to presume to offer any Advice, considering both the greatness of the danger, and the Person concerned in it: That His Majesty had

had his Privy-Council with him, to whom he humbly befought him to listen, observing what they presented him to. At which the Lords resumed their former Discourse, of at-

tempting an Escape.

But the King turning about again, said, Ned, I command you to give me your Advice. At which the Colonel begg'd leave, That after he had premised some Particulars, he might ask His Majesty a Question. Who permitting him; Suppose (said he) I should not only tell Your Majesty, That the Army would very suddenly Jeize upon you, but by concurring Circumstances fully convince Your Majesty it would be so: Also that I have the Word, Horses ready at hand, a Vessel attending at the Come, and bourly expecting me; That I am ready

ready, and desirous to attend you, and this dismal dark night as it were suited to the purpose; so that I can foresee no visible disculty in the thing, which I suppose to be in all particulars the true state of this present case: The only Question now is, What will Your Majesty resolve to do? VVho, after a small pause, pronounced this positive Answer, They have promised me, and I have promised them, I will not break first.

The Duke of Richmond urging the Colonel to speak, he craved leave to speak to argue the Point with the King; who said, With all his heart. I presume, Sir (said the Colonel) Your Majesty intends by those words [They, and Them] the Parliament; if so, the Scene now

)

Jent Apprehension arriving from the Army opphin back sofar attractly violated likes Recompended Your Majesty's freedom and Sufery, by changing the small Door, and Strate at the ont-mark Door, and strong Guards on your delf up better than a Confinement, and the probable fore-runner of Yomething more, a speedy absolute Initial prisonment.

would not do any thing that thould book like a breaking of his Word, the black back him, and the Earl of Lindfey Goodenight; and that he would go and take his rest too, for long as he could. To which Colones Gooden points is will not be long.

long gui The Reing answered, Ar great unrealines and disorder off the Colonel, faiel, Ned, What from Wes you, tell me. Who replied, Sir; to confider the greatness of Four Majesty's Danger, and your unwillingness to avoid it. The King replied, Ne'er let that trouble you, mere it greater, I would not break (Paid the Colonel) will Your Majesty the respite the Resolution, my Lord of Southampton? What needs white of faid the Ring" Are now there my the Friends ? (3021) Are ing to the Duke of Richinond, and Harrof Undergii I tell Joh they are mylnewood true Friends. noisigal the Colonel, Be pleased then to

Passages at Newport,

consult them. Said the King, I am resolved, go you two to Bed (meaning the Earl of Lindsey, and Colonel Cooke, for the Duke of Richmond was then in waiting) and if I have need of you, I will send for you. Whereupon both took leave.

But the Duke of Richmond stept after Col. Cooke, to consult him, whether or no he had best put off his Cloathes that night? VVho answered, He himself for his part would not; for notwithstanding Major Rolph's Promise, he feared the King would soon be disturbed, or else the face of Affairs deceived him. The Duke asked, whether he should let the King know what his Opinion was? VVho answered, VVith

With all his heart, and that he would stay in the outward Room, in hopes that he might occasion some new Discourses of the business. But the Duke soon returned, and told him, the King was resolved to go to Bed. It was then almost One of the Clock, and the Col. Cooke went not to Bed all night, yet all things were carried with so great secrecy and quiet, that not the least Noise was heard, nor the least cause of Suspicion given.

But in the Morning, just at break of day, the King hearing a great knocking at his Dressing-room-door, sent the Duke of Richmond to know what it meant; who enquiring who was there? was answered, one Mildman (one of those Servants the Parliament had put to the King, and

Bro-

Paffages at Newport,

Brother trans SinsaHeinty. 1) at The Duke Alemanding what the I would have? nontweed in here were some Gentlementromithe Army very den findustral pasking that King which Account the Dukagaya the Kingis but the knocking enormaling, the Kingl commended the Dukento, look themin intailis Pressing room! Na soover was this done, but before the King got out of his Bed, those Officers mathedinto his Chamber, and altrupty ly told the King, They had Wider? to remove him From whom? Taid the King They replied; From the Arms- The King asked whicherond was toobe removed? They arriver ed, To the Caftles The King askid what Caltel & Againsthey and wered, In The Caphan 13 The Goff to (Said) the King) gir nostafted golge productionil he Bro.

die was well enloughprepared for any of the Caffle and beging the left to the latter of the Caffle with the part Acco. I show the contract of the Caffle with the contract of abiguogether, they faid thurst sayth. The King treplied; They could subt name a warfe, and called to the Duke of Richmond to fend for the Earl of Linderland Collegate. Av first they derubledibatochen Barkios Dendley's continged both, brace books and laid, Why the knowledge restriest of the such such the such such the knowledge. michaelitho the Duke of Ruchmand had breet the King's Breakfanous bet haltened; prefermingrichere tiwis Intle Provision in the desolate Casse; which the was weared ready, whe Plories being vonte, we they rehighed minaway, omy perintering elde Duke to attend thin albourg two i Wiles, to and

and then told him he must go no further. Where he sadly took leave, being scarce permitted to kiss the King's Hand, whose last words were, Remember me to my Lord Lindsey, and Col. Cooke, and command Col. Cooke, from me, never to forget the Passages of this Night.

the Earl of Lindsey's Lodgings (on which, it appear'd, a Guard had been set all the night to keep him from the knowledge of what was doing, or at least to confine him from stirring forth, had he known of it) and surprized both the Earl of Lindsey, and Col. Cooke with the Account of the King's being carried away, with all its remarkable Circumstances, delivering the King's gracious Remembrance

Command to Col. Cooke. Wherefore while all Passages were ripe
in their Memories, Col. Cooke,
with the assistance of the Duke
of Richmond, and Earl of Lindsey, drew up this Narrative in
Obedience to the King's Command.

After this the Duke of Richmond, Earl of Lindley, and Earl of Southampton, with his Countels, immediately left the Island, and embarqued in a Vessel that belonged to Colonel Cooke, and landed near Tichfield (the Earl of Southampton's House) where just at their landing, they were all seized on by a Party of Colonel Okey's Regiment; who, by the

Passages at Newport,&c.

the Persuasion of Colonel Cooke, and his Engagement for their forth-coming, were all permitted to go to the Earl of Sauthampton's House the next Morning.

Obedience to the Arng's Com-

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After this the Luke of Rub.

of Southampion, with his Countelly

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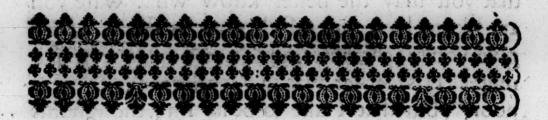
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Here is one Mr. Sanderson, who hath lately written a booke which he calls a Compleat History of Mary Queen of Scotland, and James (her son) the sixth of Scotland, and first of England: In

which, he hath compiled, not a History, but a Libel against all the good men and good actions of those times, and with most servile flattery; praised and exalted the bad, both men and matters. His whole book is a rapsody of notes and scattered papers, from other men, collected without either order or method; being exceedingly desective both in time, place and nominations: and written in so unseemly and disjoynted a stile, that you may easily perceive he hath taken up other mens words, without understanding their matter; and unlesse it be where he rails on persons of honour (which he doth plainly, and often, though sometimes very falsly) his language is dark, harsh, and unintelligible. But hat

that you may the better know what ware you are like to have out of this mans shop, I shall give you his character, and trace him from his parent. His father was a Gentleman, though poor, (but that I take to beno fin, though this man doth, and how he can clear himself from that offence, I know not) he was of kin to Sir Walter Raleigh, and in the time of his prosperitie and greatnesse was his fervant, and intrusted with receiving great fums of money for him, out of his Office of Wines, and other his places, by which be became in arrears to Sr. Walter Raleigh, in divers great furns: which after his troubles (being a prisoner in the Tower) Sr. Walter fent. unto Sanderfor for; But he was to far from paying them (prefuming that Raleigh was there friendleffe) that he pretended Sr. Walter Raleigh should owe him 2000 li. Whereupon Sir Walter in great anger, commenced a fuit against Sanderfor, which was managed by his servant and solicitor, Jahn Shelbury, And Sanderson being overthrown and found in arrears to Sir Walter Raleigh, in very great sums, was cast into prison, and there dyed a poor contemptible beggar. And hence originally sprangall the spleen and malice of this mamte Sir Walter Raleigh. For this man himself, he lived, for ought it could ever hear, at first very obscurely, and (as sconjecture by some passages

in

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in his book) studied Hiraldry, for he often brings in many impertinent digressions to shew his skill that way. But afterwards, he tells us he was servant to the Lord Ross, in his Spanish Embassie; a fit servant, no doubt, for such a Master: For what that Lord was, I shall not need to mention, it being so notoriously known to most men yet living. After this he tells us, he was a the siege of Breda, under the Earl of Oxford; to whom in his book he was pleased to give the title of a deboyst Lord; with many other unhandsome Epithites. But I cannot learn that this man had ever any relation to the Court (more then at large) until he became Secretary to the Earl of Holland, when he was Chancellor of Cambridg, where he behaved himself so corruptly. that he was with great difgrace and scorn, turned out of his place, for taking Bribes of divers Scholars to make them Doctors, and Batchelors of Divinity, when the King came to an entertainment at Cambridg: So that for a long time after, these men were by every boy called, Sandersons Doctors. A pretty while after this, he married the late Queens Landresse, and so might perchance creep again into her chamber below stairs; but for any other imployment in Court, after his Secretary-ship, I could never hear he had any: And now you may gueffe what liquor you are like

to draw out of a vessel thus seasoned. !!

I shall proceed to examine some particulars in his book, wherein I shall absolutely decline faying any thing concerning the Queen of Scots, or that part of the Story, both the errors, and excellencies of that Lady, and the inevitable causes of her deplorable destinie, being sufficiently known to all. Only I shall observe, that in some passages of Queen Elizabeths Raigne, he gives a harther censure upon Effex, and his offences, then any writer heretofore. As likewise in fol. 128. he seemes to intimate out of some discourse between Davison the Secretary, and Queen Elizabeth, That she would have had the Queen of Scots poysoned, by Paulet and Drury her keepers; which they refused. But is it likely Kings should want fit ministers for such mischiefs. when common men can hire them daily? I think not; and if they refused, others might easily have bin had; But this is a scandal raised upon that excellent Princesse, which I never heard, or read of before. There is no Innocence so clear, which this mans pen will not slubber: what need she have gon so fouly to work to take. away her life, whom the whole Parliament of Eng. petitioned her to execute? which this Author confeseth, fol. 117. and I hope it is no secret, that her death proceeded even fro the Scots themselves;

yea even from those whom K. James sent to solicit for her: Witness that speech of the Master of Gray, moretua non mordet. As for her Son, King James, truly I believe none will deny him to be a Learned Prince, and of great experience, which the troubles and vexations he had endured in his youth, by his own undutiful and head-strong Scots sub. jects, had well taught him. But it cannot be denyed, that he failed even in that which he most boasted of, his King crast; for he never treated with any Prince, or State in Christendome, that he was not over-reached; he spent more in frivilous Embassies, then would have raised an army to have setled his Children in their inheritance: and being wooed, and courted to have been head of all the Protestant Princes in Christendome. (which would have impowred him to give the Law to all this part of the world) he refused; and inclined to their enemies, whereby (as much as in him lay) he ruined the one, and advanced the other.

And whereas his accession to this Kingdome hath been thought by some the greatest happinesse that ever befel the Nations, it hath proved (by what secret predetermination of the allseeing God no man knoweth) the greatest milfortune to both. For after a miserable and wasting civil war, we see his posterity (deserving Princes in their

their own persons) overthrown, and cast out of their inheritance, and (according to humane reason) very unlikely to repossesse it.

And for his own hæreditary Kingdome (who were a people famous in war, and high in reputation,) they are become the most despicable conquered people, upon the face of the whole earth. They who within this twenty yeares looked upon themselves as conquerors of this nation; they who in the last two Kings Raignes had all the power, riches, offices, mariages, wealth and greatnesse, within their command in both Kingdomes, are now ruined at home, both in Kirke and State. The former (unto which by faire or foul play, they endeavoured to model all the Reformed Churches of the West) hath now, no where a being: And the latter subjugated to a forreign power. All their great and Ancient Families (of which they so much boasted) even plucked up by the roots, and those few remaining, so poor, as they can not shew their faces. This is the Lords doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes; but according to humane judgment, much of this may be attributed to the greatnesse, power, and prodigality of that nation, in their accesse to England, (whereby they became insolent and proud, apted thereby for any undertaking; and perchance, for some falshoods and treacheries, even dying in distast with the Parliament; to his often deserting the Protestant cause, both at home and abroad: And to his leaving the Crown poor, and in debt, whereby his Successor was often put to his shifts, and forced to open the purse strings of his Subjects, whereby he show their hearts towards him, and encouraged them to demand such things, as nothing but extreme poverty and necessary, could enforce a Prince to grant.

But enough of this, I shalonly nove take notice of such aspersions as this Author is pleased to bestow on particular persons of honour and worth, as if he meant throughout his whole book, to make it his businesse to raise at good

men, and defend the bad.

And first we light upon Cobbam, and Raleighs Treason: where in the character of Raleigh, he allows him a grand enemy to the Spaniard, and opposer of the peace; yet immediately after, believes him a conspirer with the Spaniard; but tells us not in what particular he should have served him. Fol. 184. he tells us that the seventh of Novemb. 1603 was the day of Raleighs arraignment, and the Jury called to the Bar, being a Middlesex Jury, against whose persons he did not except. Tis true, he did not, for he knew not any one of their faces; and being consident

Lumis

fident of his own innocence, onely wished they might have honesty, and understanding; both which they wanted. But there was appointed for him another Jury, the foreman of which was Sir Michal Stanhope, the next, Sir Edward Darcy, the next, Sir William Killegrew, all men of honour, and near servants to the late Queen Elizabeth; But these being found not for their turn, they were all changed over night, and those others put in their places. The arraignment is in Print, therefore I shall not trouble my self with the particulars of it. I shall only demand why Cobbam was not brought face to face to accuse Raleigh, being under the same roof with him, in so much, that King James himself taking notice of it, said, that if Cobham could have said any thing against Raleigh, they would have brought him from Con. stantinople to have accused him. And I would fain know, what it was that ever Cobham accused Raleigh of; for yet I never could. Likewise, whether ever any man was condemned by a fingle witnesse, and he not present neither. And it is certain, that letter of Cobhams under his own hand written the night before his tryal, wherein upon his salvation he clears Raleigh from all manner of Treasons, against the King or State, is yet extant, and was produced at a Committee of Parliament, by Mr. Caren Raleigh. But you may

that he saith, he tired the Court and Jury with impertimencies, when as all other men present at his arraignment, thought never man spake better for himself; nay divers which came thither his enemies, went away with pity, and commisseration of his injuries and missortunes; and even Cook the Attorney himself, being retired into a garden to take some ayre, when his man brought him word that the Jury had condemned Raleigh of Treason, answered, surely thou art mistaken; for I my self accused him but of misprission of Treason; and this relation upon the word of a Christian, I have received from Sir Edward Cook's own mouth.

And since we are now fallen upon this businesse, we will take it all together, and see what he saith concerning Raleighs last voyage, and death, though it happened 14 years after. Fol. 459 and Anno. 1617 he tells us, that Sir Walter Raleigh, wearied with long imprisonment, and having there spent his time well in the History of the World, made his petition more passable to the K. whose love to learning, granted him now at last his liberty, and not long after gave him leave to wander after a design, to the Western world, where he had been in several Climats before. Whereas it is well known, King James forbad Sir Walter Raleighs book, for some passages in it which offended the

the Spaniard, and for being two plain with the faults of Princes in his Preface. Sir William St. Johns, and Sir Edward Villiers, the Danie of Buckinghams half-Brother, procured Sir Walter Raleighs hiberty, and had sooli for their labour, and for 700 li more, offered him his full pardon, and liberty not to go his Voyage, if he pleased; both which he refused; and the rather, because he was told by the Lord Chancellor Verulam (who was no fool, nor no ill Lawyer) That his commiffion from the King under the great seal of England (wherein the King made him General of his forces by Land and Sea, and gave him Marshal law over his people) was as good a pardon for all former offences, as the law of England could afford him.

Noyage; as that it was a trick only to get his liberty, and that he knew of no Mine; If so, Raleigh was a mad man to hazard his life in such a long Sea journey, and to expend above 10000 li. of his own estate (as tis well known upon oath he did) vwhen he might have avoyded that trouble and stayd at home for the disbursing 700 li. But it is most certain, that Raleigh did really and truly believe in the mine, and so did Kemish too, upon good and just grounds, having had a true trial of the ore, and not with salse and Chymical tricks, as this trisling

trifling lyar would intimate and a had

But for the particulars of these passages, and the true cause of the fayling of that Voyage, I shall refer you to Sir Walter Raleighs own Apology, now in print, and to be had every where upon the verity of which he took his death. And for this Authors base aspersion, and surmise upon the death of Kemish, it was so well known to all those who were in the ship, how, and in what manner he killed himself, (first shooting himself with a Pistol, and then stabbing himself with a knife, to dispatch, lest he should be prevented upon the noyse of the Pistol, his Cabbin door being locked on the in side,) that there can be nothing more plain and evident, then that he killed himself: But this unworthy Author will feek scandals from everything. So he saith, be fet out this Voyage with other mens money; when it is well known (though he had many adventures) that he received 8000 li, from the Countesse of Bedford in ready money, which he had lent her; that he fold a house and land at Micham in Surry, for 2500 li. all which money, and more, he spent every farthing in this Voyage; for ten ships (and he had no lesse) with their men, ammunition, and victuals, would not be fet out with the adventures of a few fifty, and hundred pounds alone.

This Author likewise saith; That Raleighbaid

But a mean fortune, which he meant to advantage by this Poyage. He may thank K. James for the meannelle of his fortune, who took away Sherborne from him for want of a word, after he had been 7 years in the Tovver, and gave it to his fayourite, Summer set : But vvhen K. James came into England, Raleigh vvas Lord Warden of the Stanneries, Lord Leivetenant of Devonskire and Cornwall, Captain of the Guard, and Governor of Jersey; he had a long lease of the Office of Wines; he had most of the Earl of Defmonds estate in Ireland; he had the daughter and heyre of Basset to his vvard, to marry to his son: her estate vvorth 3000 li. per. an. vvho vvas taken from him, and married to Mr. Henry Haward, vyho dyed suddainly at the table; and she after married to the Earl of Newcastle, vvho professed he vvould never have married her, if young Walter Raleigh had been alive; conceiving her before God to be his vvife, for they vvere married as much as children could be; he had likevvise Sherborn, which was lately valued by the State at 5000 a li. per. an. and this vvas no beggerly estate, all which he lost for his supposed treason: And it is certain that many years after, he and Cobbam being prisoners, upon the sute of Q Ann (being thereunto pressed by Sr. W.R.) Cobbam was re-examined before some of the Lords of the Councel at the Tovver, and did clear Sir W. R. from all treasons whatfoever. Tis.

Tis likewise true, that the whole design and intention of his Voyage, was by K. James (under Raleighs own hand) delivered to Gondomare, and thereupon there was 300 Spaniards sent to St. Thomas, which made that resistance there that was: and Raleigh sound his own letter, under his own hand, in the Governor of St. Thomas Closet, which letter he brought back, and shewed it to the Lords of the Counsel.

Now whereas he saith, They had matter enough to take away his life in this his last businesse, why did the Lords of the Councel then, for a whole year together examine him at the Tower every week, to pick out what they could to condemn him? and yet, when all was done, they were sain to tell the King, that if he would take away his life, he must take advantage of his former condemnation,

which was accordingly done:

The next scandalous passage we meet with, is fol. 365. concerning Will. Earl of Pembrook, and Philip Earl of Montgomerie his brother, who he saith were men of considerable descents, though of no same in their merits; when all men know William Pembrook was a man of Honour, Valour, and Learning; and as well beloved as any man in this Nation. But he leaves not the other brother so, but farther saith, though the King was no quarreller, yet be hated a coward. (Strange! that the King should hate that

(44)

in his favourite, which was to predominant in himself) and turned Montgomery out of his affection, for being switcht by a mean Gentleman (Ramsey) a Scot, at a publick horfe-race. Though this favourite was urged to revenge, and backed by the English, forty to one, to defend him: he basely put it up to his death, and the dishonor of a Gentleman. That this passage in the main parts of it is true, cannot be denyed; but aggravated with these circumstances, most slanderous and base, and in every part of it most unfit to be left to posterity in Print, being a particular and malicious blot upon a noble family, and no way fit to be recorded by a Chronicler: & it is most notoriously false that the King deserted Montgomery for this action; for though he were then in fancy with Carr, yet after this he gave Montgomery greater gifts, and was kinder to him then ever he had been before in all his life; and the rather, for putting up this injury, lest it should have bred a national quarrel (which it had like to have done) and which King James dreaded above all things in the world; for it is certain there was a sword put into Montgomeries hand (being in an hunting posture without weapon) to re-venge himself; and he sought for Ramsey alloby the Scots; and Mr. Pinchback by name, said to Montgomery, My Lord, let us break our fast with them

them here (meaning the Scots) and sup with them at London. For which speech King James ever hated Pinchback to his dying day. Ramsey was committed close prisoner to the Tower, and there lay until he had made all possible submissions that could be invented; and it is well known that King James was alwayes kind to Montgomery to the very last, as this Author himself confesses in another place of his book, fol. 592 therefore a false and malicious suggestion, meerly brought in to

brand Montgomery with a lasting disgrace.

The next businesse we shall take notice of, is. the poyloning of Overbury, wherein he strives all he can to extenuate that foul murther, both in Summer set and his Wife; and magnifying the justice which was done therein, forgets that Summerfet and his Wife, who were principals, and drew in all the rest (for money and rewards) were pardoned, and only the poor accessaries hanged. And what an unworthy character doth he give of that poor unfortunate Gentleman Overbury, saying, That he was of an impudent and Ibrasonical disposition, that he had little in him that was folid, for religion or moral vertue, and that he was naught, and corrupt, making him the band to Summersets lust with Essex his Wife; and making bim brag of that imployment? when as all men that ever I met with, have ever held Overbury to have been a sober, religious, and learned Gentleman.

man, and so it appeareth by what hath come out, in publick of his writing; besides, he doth in this disparage Summerset, whom he would defend, by making him chuse so weak, and vitious a person, for his most intimate friend, and indeed his governor. Haply Overbury might have some tincture of pride in him, (as indeed who would not, that had the power and interest of such a fa-vourite at his command; that commanded the King himself, and often was known to threaten him if he denyed what he desired?) But that he should be his baud to Effex his Wife, is most unlikely, when all the world knows he was her greatest enemy, and that his hatred to her, and the House of the Hawards was his ruine. How doth this passage agree with that which follows after, wherein this Author sayes (in the relation of this Ladies Divorce from Estex) that she was a pure Virgin, and so delivered in upon oath from the inspection of divers Ladies? But this Author often forgets and contradicts himself: Haply Overbury had hindred, or thwarted this Gentleman in some illegal projects (of which they fay, he had alwayes store) which he had offered to Summerset, and therefore he is not only contented his body should have been poysoned whilst alive, but he will (as far as in him lyes, if any would believe such a fellow) murther his fame too, after his death. . Collins

Ishall next only mind you of a letter which he fets down fol.421 of Summerfets to the King; wherein there is this passage, speaking concerning his estate, which he desired the King to spare. And I may say further, that the Law hath not him so severe upon the ruine of innocent posterity, nor yet cancelled nor cut off the merits of Ancestors, before the politick hand of State had contrived it into these several forms, as sitted to their ends and government. And yet this man (Summerset) could begg all the lands of Raleigh, could begg the 10000 h. sine of the Earl of Northumberlands, and could enjoy the greatest part of the forseited Lands of the Earl of Westmordand, without any scruple. But we are alwayes blind in our own affaires.

And in fol. 429 I take notice of another scandal which he throws upon his quondam Master, Henry Ritch, Baron Kensington, and Earl of Holland, scoffing at him for imitating the Earl of Carlile, in his expensive wayes, and calling him the natural son of the then Earl of Warwick; which why he should do, I can not imagin, for certainly, the Lady Ritch was the then lawful wife of the Lord Ritch, after Earl of Warwick, and if any of her children were to be stilled natural, it were those which she had by the Earl of Devonshire, not these by Ritch: For as this Author saith in another place, King James told Devonshire, that he had gotten a faire, wife

Wife, with a foul soul; But no doubt this Author had a pick at Holland, for turning him out of his

service, as is mentioned before.

I omit his slight character of Abbot Archbishop of Canterbury, scotting at his judgment in the businesse of Essex his Divorce, calling him Puritan, and a somentor of factions: His despising our Nation in the expedition of the Palatinate, branding them with the sag end of an old Ballad; saying, they went abroad to sight, and so came home againe; as if they had only danced a morice thither; when it is well known, they defended Manheinu, and Frankendale nobly, and Hydelburge with so much honour, that Sir Gerard Herbert (Commander in chiese there) lost his life at push of Pike.

How contemptuously doth he speak of the Earls, Oxford, and Esex, terming them young men, apprehending no danger, and so ignorant, they knew not how to avoid any? How improbably doth he cast the compiling of the History of the Councel of Trent upon a Protestant, thereby to vilishe the work, as partial? fol. 471 And how doth he throughout his whole book, contemne and vilishe, both the Reformers, and Reformation of

Religion?

of his mistakes. He tells us that King Hen. 8 was a Lutheran, when all Story assures us, he li-

wed and dyed a Papist. Tis true, he put down Monasteries for his own prosit, and he declyned the Popes Supremacy for his own pleasure; and for defending of these, he put Sir Thomas Moor, and Bishop Fisher to death, with many others: But at the same time, he put multitudes to death, for not subscribing and submitting to the six Articles, which were all of them ranke Po-

pery.

He tells us, fol. 487 that all our marriages with Spain have been unfortunate to this Crown; and then ravels into the story of the Black Prince, as if he had married in Spain; but if he will read our English Chronicles, he shall find, to speake the truth, (though I love not the nation) that the Spanish wives were good; and that it was the French wives which proved so unfortunate to our Kings. Such was Elenor, Wife to Hen. 2, who set all his Sons together by the eares with him. Such was Isabel, Wife to Ed. 2, who for the love of Mortimer, suffered her husband to be milerably, and cruelly murthered. And such was Margaret, Wife to Hen.6, who by her pride, perversnesse, and evil government, was one of the chief causes in the ruine of that meek and gentle Prince; vvhom she, lived to see murthered in the Tovver, and her onely Son, the Prince, stabbed to death at Temxbury field, and her self sent home poor and miserable, to her more

more poor and beggarly Father, in Provence: I need name no more.

Another mistake he hath concerning the Duke of Buckinghams talking with Telverton in the Tower; which surely the Duke never did : But that Sit William Balfore should tell him so, as being then Lieutenant of the Tower, can not be, for Balfore came in to be Lieutenant, after Sir George More, which was long after this time.

Another such mistake he hath in point of time, relating the publick combat, which should have bin between the Lord Rey, and David Ramsey, which he saith, was in the time of King James; when in truth, it was in the Reign of King Charles, and after the Marquis Hamiltons expedition into

Germany-

Speaking of the troubles of the Earl of Middle. fex, he tells us, that to his knowledg the Duke bought Chelley house; for the truth of this, I refer my self to the Widow Countesse of Middlesex, now living, who hath told me many times, that the Duke had Chelsey for nothing, and that her husband never received one peny for it.

In another story, he inverts the same just upon Middlesex; saying, that he bought Copthall of the Countesse of Winchelsey, when I my self know very well, that the Lady gave Copeball, furniture and all, to Middlesex and the Duke of Lenox, to be made

Countesse;

Countesse; and Middlesex indeed bought out the Dukes estate; but his mistakes, ignorances, and wilful errors, are infinite, both in the language, and the matter. I shall therefore conclude with that wholsome advice, which once that Grave and Learned Lord Chancellor Elsemore, gave to Sir Edmond Scony, presenting him with a book, in hope he would have given him something, (being then very poor, his father yet alive) which book, the Chancellor having read over, saith to Sir Edmond: Sir Edmond Scony, you gave me a book, for which I will give you [I humbly thank your Lordship, cryes Sir Edmond] I will give you good counsel; Read more, and write lesse, Sir Edmond; for indeed it is a very foolish book: So say I, Read more, and write lesse, Mr. Sanderson; for indeed it is not only a very foolish, but a very false, and scandalous book, far fitter for the fire, then for the Presse.



FINIS.

attatatatatatatatatata)

TO THE LOYALL READER.

Courteons and loyal Reader :

His little Booke entituled A Meffenger from the Dead, will feelingly admonsh thee how gracious a Soveraigne thou haft loft, and by what Divels (and not Men) he hath been Muribered. not only Depriving him (oh horrid Sacraledge) of Life, but even denying him after Death to choose his Sepulture, which suddenly will (by CHARLES his Heire and Succeffor) be given unto His Jacred After (in the Abby of Westminster amongs his Reyall Ancefors) with all due Pomp and State thereto belonging, whilft it might most Instantly, and but likewise Reasonably too be wish'd (the more to Honour and also windicate their Translation) That every halfe mile betwixt the fame and Windfor might be throughout Gibbeted (at their passing by) and on each a Traytor (yet Surviving) trafs'd in expiation of that most horrid Crying fin which hath call'd downe to much vengeance upon these Nations. The execrable Carkaffes of & already Dead) viz. Cromwell Bradiban. Ireton, Pride, and others, to be Dif-inter'd and Hurdled through the Screets, and afterwards cast into some Hole digg'd under 77burne; their Hated only Heads and Quarters rais'd on Poles and made the Prey of Vulters, Owles, and Ravens. Thus prayeth on his bended knees the Author, withing Honour, Safety, Rule, and Greatness to King CHARLES, whom Heaven bleffe, and fafe conduct into his Kingdomes,

1648.
Cronosticon sen Hexametrum Patiloquii in immane ac Horrendii
Regisidium, CAROLI Primi Regis (Dei gratia) Anglia
Clementissimi Trigesimo die January, Anno Dem. 1648. per
manne Perduellium Decollati.

Ter Deno Jani Lahens reX sole CaBence CaroLVs; eXVcVs sollo sCaptroqVe seCVre.

DD. CCCC. LLLL. XX. VVVVV. III.

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DD. CCCC. LLLL. XX. VVVVV, III.

Nantius a Mortuis:

OR, A

MESSENGER

FROM THE DEAD.

That is,

A STUPENDIOUS AND DREADFULL

Collognie, distinctly and alternately Heard by divers, betwirt the Ghosts of Henry the Eight, and Charles the First, both Kings of England, who lye Entombed in the Church of windsor.

Wherein,

(AS WITH A PENCILL FROM HEAVEN)

is Liquidly (from Head to Foot) set forth, the whole Series of the judgements of GOD, upon the Sinnes of these unfortunate Islands.



Translated out of the Latine Copie, by G. T.

And

Printed at Paris, MDCLVII.

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TO THE READER.

Ourteous Reader: Thou wilt wonder perhaps that this Terrible Narration of a Colloquie, so full of dread and astonishment (long fince bad betwixt two Kings of England, both Deceased) should not sooner have come forth, when (in the intervall of so Great a tract of Time) it ought rather to have been put to the Presse. But thou must know it was then strangled in its Birth (all ready fitted by me to have come into the Light) when (the late Kings Blood yet Smoaking) the Severity of the times suppressed it; Divers also were shut up close Prisoners least the Truth of such strange Prodigies should walke abroad with them, And the Souldiers largely brib'd who watch'd his Herfe, not to let any thing of that Quality fall from them; But now it is by Gods infinite goodness (nor unbappie

happie (as I may Say) Midwifrie of mine , that againe it Resaluteth the Day, with recommendation to bee Communicatively used by the ___ : However to my selfe the Author who was present at the late Kings Buriall, and both Ege and Barewitness of these wonders, not as vaine and only forg'd things speaking (like to Poets) give thou Credit and Beliefe; But as tracing through those Dead Kings Colloquies (in this Kingdome fill'd with hellish darkness , the true and hidden Pathes of Gods just vengeance. Farewell, and as thy Brother in CHRIST, Pray for,

Thy,&c.

inte Kings Executes to Junaline the Severity of or fresh g Qiver affa were shacap. etile Prilarers leaft the Tracket feel Prange care they do make along and in the me and the Scaldies largely but deviba march's bis Herfe.

ther to have been put to the I refle. But thou must

know it was then the moled in it. But healt ready

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-N W Mangalory of their Quality fall from them; But now it is by Gods infinite abodych (nor un-

them it fam. My Chat

3/19/9

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NUNTIUS a MORTUIS:

OR,

A Messenger from the Dead.

Hrough the unlimited wickedness of the London Calvinists (the first of that Name in England) King CHARLES being taken away, His headless Body (by order of Parliament (not to the Royall Abbey of St. Peter in Westminster, the solemne Buriall-place of all the Kings and Queenes of England, but to Windfor twenty miles distant from London, in HENRY the Eight's Monument) was Translated to bee interred. There was no Pompe at all to grace his Funerall, only a few Souldiers fent to Guard his Body, which some few Nobles (with the Duke of Richmond) waited on; where his Corpes being put into the Sepulcher, from out the Penetrall thereof there broke a horrid Sound, which the standers by at first amaz'd with much wonder; But by and by a voyce attending; that Noise, forc'd them All into a fearefull affonishment. And it is Credible, that ev'n the Souldiers would have taken their Heeles, but that calting away all feares and Apprehenfion which they had long fince layd ande of either Heaven or Hell : They refoly d to heare the sequel of that Prodigie; Talso who (growne Pale with feare) had begun to flie, Recollected my Spirits, and (comforting my felfe with the prefence of the Souldiers, not uncovetous of Hearing what would follow) flood my ground; And with the rest at last discovered that it was the Voice of Henry the Eight, thus complaining with a Loud and horridly frightfull Vocification novinb rond gru Ch

Harrism.

Henricus.

TO! Who is this (with Sacraligious impietie) that dares vex the fo long quiet ashes of a King so many years fince deceased. This said, another voice straight rose somewhat softer, but extreamly Dolefull, which seem'd to be Kings Charles his, thus Anfwering.

Carolus.

I Am that unhappie King of England your Succes-I for, the undcubted Heire of Sixty two Monarchs whole Scepters sometimes sway'd these Nations, and who my Selfe have (now thefe twenty yeares and upwards) worne the Kingly Diadem.

Henricus.

As though thou indeed hadft worne the kingly Diadem ? Why thou hast no Head at all whereon to put it, Man.

Carolus

But I had one (oh my Griefe) and very lately; though my Subjects have rebelliously taken it from mean dinois lineared a contain the mean direct weight and me:

Henric. Have thy Subjects then thus cruelly handled thee, oh the hatred of both God and Men! How I pray you came these things to passe ? And what wickedness hadit thousand so execrable, which hath

transported thy Subjects to that Madness.

Girol. That Sir, I am rotally ignorant of; but this I dare with confidence affirme. That I have violated no mans Bed have not offerd force unto any on's Daughter driven no man from his house or Lands of all which, yet Hemy the Eight my Predecessor is held guilty

guilty through the totall univerfe. Let thefe fay who have brought me hither whether in any thing I have bely'd the Truth? then paus'd a while as though to heare what they would say, whilest the Soldiers (with their looks cast downe) consented by their Silence to these verities. And most true it is (indeed) what hath been said; for never King fince the worlds Creation was more wicked then that Hemy I speake of, as who (councell'd by one CROMVVELL of those Times) either violated all Divine and humane Lawes, or gave the example to his successors of doing so. But as for Charles who is so lately deceased (only abstracting from the Blot of Herifie) no King ever (not only of his time) nor Private man was either naturally more equitable more holy or endow'd with greater Vertues, who (not finding what he faid opposed) in this maner follow'd on his Narration: I was criminated for defending with Armes what peaceably (but in vaine) I had endeavoured) those very Lawes the which my Ancefors had left to me, and which Sixteen and upwards of yeares, I had uncontroledly Rul'd by and Reign'd. Hereupon were there Iudges appointed (by an usurped authority of Parliament) who should fit and determine of my Head, witnesses against me sworne and examined who had conspired to take away my Life: The day let downe and forces brought the weh should carry me to be arraigned before their Dire Tribunall and though I call'd buth God and men to witness their violation (in this proceeding) of the Lawes, and that no Power on earth was capable of judging me; as alfothat I tooke not up Armes, before that Armes had first been actually taken against me; yet Iudgement or rather the shadow thereof) was given by which J

suffered the decollation of my Head.

Henric. Oh wickedness, even sear'd to impudence. and of which as ages past are wholly ignorant, so those to come will hardly ever give credit to. Wee have heard perhaps of Kings and Potentates who have fuddenly been oppressed by the Fury of a Raging and incenfed multitude; But that any one (a Prince of such High majesty) should be brought to death by the cruelty of his Subjects (all of one and the selfesame Religion) under the colour evn it felfe of justice, and be obtiuncated by the publique Hangman, (but especially nor found guilty of any crime, unlesse propugning his Paternall Rights.) Since Kings had being was yet never heard of. For (that Mary Queen of Scots that Neice of mine, was most cruelly and inhumanely Beheaded) that Elizabeth my unhappie daughter Queene of England (and in harred of Religion not the unnaturalness of her Subjects brought to passe; and therefore all men have that Izabell or rather Jezabell in veneration, as though indeed a Martyr.

carol. Least I should seeme too much to stand upon my innocence, I confesse I was to blame (although
not charg'd therewith.) when I assented unto Straffords dying (not least guilty on my knowledge of his
Charge) through the lenitie of my Nature (though
unwillingly) wherefore respecting that strict Father
of justice (whose dominion is juster over Kings, then
that of Kings over other mortals) I cannot waile my
Blood so spilt unworthily, who (Pilate like) subscrib d
anothers death, having declared him first wholy innocent in my judgement.

Hen.

those other rather much should have been punished with the losse (by Heavens just vengeance) of their heads who Thee being innocent made thus guilty by their prejudice, and (however against thy will and Relucting) as by the shoulders forc'd thee headlong forwards into that most horrid iniquity of their judgement. Therefore some thing there must necessarily be more which have caused this so execrable sate to thee; nor know I why thou shouldest here be more obtruded on me, thou thy selfe cansit tell me any just cause why thou wert stripp'd out of this miserable Life by so shamefull and opprobrious a death; if thou camest (as such thou boasts thy self) of Kings, had it not been meeter thou hadst layd thy Bones amongst thy ancestors then trouble here my rest and quiet?

Carol. I earneftly (indeed dying) defired to have been buried in the Tomb of my Father, but who spoyled me of my life deny'd that boone to me. Fearing I beleeve least lying so neer them, that the voyce of my Blood would cry more loud to them. But in this they have not only been inhumane to me; Many other and most grievous indignities have I suffered in my shamefull way of Dying. At Westminster where my Self and my Ancestors (the Kings of this Nation) were Inaugurated was I forc'd to heare the Sentence of my Life from the mouth of a filly Petty-fogger, when according to the municipall Lawes, no Noble man can be judg'd but by his Peers. At St. I ames his was I keep'd close Prisoner, whilest my Enemies did determine of my Head, wholly cast upon their Arbitrary judging me; a Place above all others lov'd by me through the

memory of my past there Childhood, where my youth also had been harmlefly entertain'd with many innocuous and most innocent oblectations. The Scaffold for my death appointed, rais'd directly before the Court of my house, unto which that I might come with more regret and also shame, ev'n through those roomes they dragg'd me, where (to honour Forraign States Embassadors) with Royall pompe, I used and Masques to recreate them. I beheld also (but with what sence of indignation?) his head cover'd, & Eyes sternly fixed on me, Oliver Crommell one of ordinary extraction and (abstracting from what Fortune bath rear'd him to) much more despicable then the meanest of my Nobles (how much short then of the majesty of a King) fitting umpire of my life and death. But though these things were very grievous and deplorable, vet that one was even then death it selfe lesse tollerable to me, when my eares (the Blood yet spinning out my veynes) fwallowed in that fatall mandate from the Cryer, that it should be death to call my Son or Prince of wales, or destine him to bee his Fathers successor. And then indeed it truely appeared, as conjectured by the wifer in the beg thing, that not the King fo much as Rule displeas d the Rebels, who conspired so unanimoully my death, to the end that That aswell as I should be excirpated. Yet this one thing very much consolates my Griefes, that (at least) I have been destin'd to this Place, where I cannot doubt of your more courteous reception of me, as being Nephew of your Sister the Princess Margaret, her I meane who marrying Tames the fourth of Scotland, bore that Mary of whom to lately you made mention, and the lames my late Father since deceased, unto whose Scepter she gave both England and Scotland, unto which James, I Charles the first (as Heire unto my Father) have succeeded.

Henric. Hom, what's that I heare, and art thou that Chailes then the Son of James, to whom from me by Elizabeth that Kingdome is divolved by Succession? art thou I pre thee that felf same Charles, and canst not fee how all these evils have oppressed thee? But it fecms thy eyes yet very well fee not (newly come into into this region of Darkness) No! hadft thou remembred how a long while agoe I drew from our that yoake my necke which in the Church I had full 20. yeares drawne in, after first I was annointed King; I, and defended with both Sword & Pen too, thou wouldest lesse wonder that (after 20. yeares Reigne) thy Subjects should have so departed from thee; Thou cant not be ignorant that amongst all the Christian Kings I was the first that ever arrogated the Supremacy and would be cal'ed The Head of the Church, which Titles that I might knit them to my Crowne with a knot that should never be unty'd, Oh! what Blood have I not shed of Marryrs? This sinne of mine fo long fince committed, being to be expiated by the b'ood of a King, both this Scepter and monftrous. Head together were at once to perish; this was long agoe decreed by the Fares, as we may judge now itis come to passe. But more then all this I will tell you; There was a Person of great note during my Reigne, of whom many things thou can't not choose but have heard, whose Name was called Thomas Moore. This man (adorned with vertues fo transcendent many ages cor'd

could not match his worth) from a Pleader (at the Barre) of the Law, and (having regard unto his merit and Learning) I call'd to be Lord Chancellor of England. But I seemed only thither to have rais'd him. that I might deoress him from the greater Hight; For when (following the dictamen of his Conscience) he would not owne me the Head of the Church: I commanded forthwith His to be cut off . So that whilest Playing Califthenes hee fell into the hands of Alexander. Gee thou then now (Head of the Church) and complain that by the Sentence of a pittifull Lawyer Thine is also cut off from thy Shoulders. Or rather feeft thou not plainly in these Prodigies the Tenor of Gods admirable Iudgements ? It was grievous to thee to be a Prisoner at St. James his; where theu hoft so innocently in thy youth disported thy Selfe; but thou minds not that I formerly (by violence and Sacraledge) fnatcht those Houses from the Church. as not long after all the Goods of the Monks, the Carthusians, Bernardins, Cestersians, Canon Regulers, and fo of all the rest: But more especially of those of St. Benedia, whose houses and Estates I confiscated, being the most Splended and Opulent of all the Kingdome. by an injustice till that Time not ever heard of; wherfore as I (for that they own'd me not their Head) cast in Prison many innocent Religious, and from their Houses made them he unto the Gallowes, so then hadft for thy Prison (where thou sufferedst) a house that had been heretofore Religious, I hang'd up feverall Abbots at their doores to give a terrour (by their sufferings) to the Monks. And what wonder, if (to the assonishment of Kings and Kingdomes) thou hast it

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fuffered at the doores of thy Pallace, an ignominious and opprobrious Death ? But knowest thou not (over and above) that this very Pallace (the House of thy abode) was the dwelling place of the Bishops of rorke, which I extorted from Cardinall Wolfey; A man sometimes highly advanced by me, whilest ferving my unbridled Lust; but whom afterwards utterly Confounded, when I judg'd it for the availe of my Avarice. Nor prophan'd I only the Episcopall houses to ungodly and Nefarious uses, but Compelled ev'm themselves the Bishops (from their Obedience to the Roman Sea) into an acknowledgement of my Iurisdiction in Church affaires, unlesse only who presided over Rochester whom when neither with faire words nor menaces I could draw into the defection of the test, I beheaded to compleat my Sacraledge. Behold therefore if or not it were fatall and most agreeable to the Heavenly justice, that this Head of the Church (fo Admenticious) should have been cut off before the doores of the Bishop ? To give Promotion to the affaires of my Primacy; I made me a Vicar of one CROM-VV B L L of those Times, a man of very meane extraction, unto whom (and hee of Lay condition) both the Bishops and Archbishops were as underlings: Now another of that name (and like difcent) Rules as absolute over all thy Nobles, and Guides the minutes of thy Life and Death. The very same I made my Principall instrument of keeping from their meanes the Church its children, and of bringing on the Baine of that Religiou fo B 3

long practized in the Times of my Ancestors) which I would call The Reformation of the Church; I enter'd to this Kingdom (from my Father) when it was Blemishless, entire, and truly Regall; nor in any thing unto any one obnoxious, only (as sitting, in things that were Spirituall) paying submission to the Vicar of Christ. Thou received st it when strengthless and wounded, rent, and torne from the yoke of St. Peter, (so just, so sweet and so amiable) wholy slav'd unto the Vicars of the People, chose to governe by the votes of the multitude.

I found those very things which thou hast said to me, and now lately (unless by others allowance) that I had nothing either of Life or Kingdomes, which was not wholy in the hands of the Parliament, since puff'd up with fond pride and contumacy (by thy Example) I have swarved from the Church; yet fear'd I not the qublique Hatchet would have struck me by the hands of Rebels, with such more dreaded Secret councels and impossionings.

Henric. But of that thou shouldst the least have been afraid; for the punishment would not have answered the offence. Publique sinnes must have publique Expiations, nor sought I corners in which to perpetrate my wickednesses, but sinn'd boldly after once I had begun, only I drew indeed the masque of justice upon the Face of my iniquities; the Supremacy (as though my due) of the Church, unto my Self I arrogated, calling a Parliament by a Decree, whereout I quite abolished the Roman Seas authority; I repudiated (by pretence

of Right) the woman that was my lawfull Wife; the Possessions (likewise wholy of the Clergie) under the same colour, I occasioned to be confiscated; whosoever was averse to my Supremacie (as though guilty of High Treason) I put to Death. Wheresote when our sinnes (for which wee worthily are punished) are coursed over with the veile of justice, no wonder if the selfe same vizard likewise veile us when our selves at last we come to suffer.

Carol. But these Audacities (from their Subjects unto Kings) are the effects of most unheard of wickednesse.

Henr. I confesse it, but with how much greater wickedness are those insolencies by our selves deserved? Such sin only against a mortall Prince, but we Princes against an æternall Deitie. But you (Sir (unless a mark'd out Sacrassice God so willing) for your sinness encrmities) could you not have mocqu'd that arrest of Popular judgement, by your Prerogative in dissolving of the Parliament?

Carol. I did what I could to dissolve it, but I pray heare what follow'd after my so doing. The scottish men (my natural! Subjects) in hostile fort invaded England with their Armies, whom opposing in their march at Torke, an humble Booke came to my hands by Kymbolton, under written by certaine Noble men of my Kingdome.

Henric. King Henry hearing Kymbolton nam'd after fetching first a very deepe sigh. Oh, Katherine (sayes he) Kymbolton (that Woman of all other most deare to me) as excelling all her Sex in vertue, whom I Banish'd (Heav'n forgive me) from my Bed

to make place therein for that Strumpet Anne of Bollen, afterwards publiquely beheaded (for Adultery) hath exchanged this so hated Life! This Divorce (against both heavins and humane Lawes (to the end that I might make it sime) made me usurpe unto me the authority of the Church, when (un!ess with so horrid a Sacraledge) I could not uphold the impiety of that villany. Hence broke upon our selves and both our Kingdomes, the inundation of all these pressing

mileries.

Carol. When (holding forth Kymboltons Booke) from this sayes he, as by one wave of a Deluge hath also flow'd the totall Sea of my disasters; for unadvifedly (O my griefe) I condificended (they so craving) to a Treaty with the Scots, in which I bound my felte firmly to make Good what in my name, should (by my Delegates) be agreed upon. These Deputed (O imprudent Drones or rather indeed perfidious Traytors) gave concessions to the infidiating Scots to take firong Holds into their hands within my Kingdom, till fuch time as by my Kingly authority the Parliament (then dissolved) should be revoked. Writs therefore I accordingly issued forth, The Scots are most Liberally gratified, nor doe they suffer them sooner to leave England, then that first I had engaged my Princely Faith (by a writing under my Hand and Seale (this Hamilton also unhappily Councell'd me, that unfortunate kinfman of mine) not to anull the faid new Sefsions of Parliament, till such time as they should all thereto affent.

Henric. Oh stupiditie or rather extreamest Madness. Didst thou not see when to thy stiffe-neck d People

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thou Granted this, that thou putt ft a finall Period to the fway of thy Kingly Authority? This was one and the felf-fame thing as if thou hadft given into the hands of the Parliament thy Scepter and thy Princely Diadem; on condition not to have them again untill fuch time as they should please to restore them Thee; But much otherwise should I have handled mine; Though now it is as cleere as noone day, that the measure of my Sins hath been made-up in Thee by Thy unhappie Participation of my Schismes, and that (by blinding the eyes of thy mind (in Propitiation of the offended Dietie) Gods just vengeance hath brought on Thee destruction. - whom God will destroy hee taketh away their Right understanding. But when once it was come to that passe, Thou shouldst have gain'd (at least) the Parliaments votes unto Thee, by giving Honours to them and other vast Largitions.

Carol. Even that in what I could I attempted. But much otherwise (God he knowes) it come about; For my Catholique Nobility and Bishops (whose votes I most rely'd on, in Parliament) were ejected by the adverse Faction. They were both indeed very Passionate for my good; the Catholiques as hoping I would mitigate the asperity of the Lawes in Force against them, by Queen Elizabeths and my Fathers constitutions: The Prelates alfo as probably expecting a confervation of their Meanes and Benefices (then threatened in another way) From this Head of theirs (O God) how ridiculous! Having loft thus in the House of Lords (for the Lower was of little confideration to me) more then twenty and upwards of Suffrages, who remained more indulgent and Firmeto me were intiintimidated (thereto Bookes cast abroad) by the tumultuousness of the Apprentices & Tradesmen, which
Seditions the adverse party of the Parliament with all
the eagerness that they could, somented. At Westminster also scandalous Bookes were written against me,
at the pleasure of those Parliamentary Rebels, which
(their Emissaries farre and neare dispiersing
them) by some Provincials (thereto courted) were
Subscribed, and exhibited suddenly after to the Parliament, as though (nothing on their part suggested) the

whole matter had by the People been exacted.

Henric. The very selfe-same Fraud and Collusion did I practice to the Church its ruine; For first of all (by writs and declamations) who were Refractory of the Clergie I indulged, in doing whereof I pretended Reformation, and not ruine which was really my Defigne (like your Rebels, who in the beginning of their Defection even by Oath and Publique Faith oblig'd themselvs, not to attempt against your Person Realms or Church, but to defend them with their utmost power) though however of some Defects in Church and State(by removing fro you certain evill Councellors) they seemed to pretend a Reformation. And least any thing should have the face of Oppression which I did, I procured certaine Bookes to flye abroad with whose Sence I was very well pleased which the Monks in their owne names should write to me, neare according to this following Tenor. -

Since the goodnesses of GOD (with your Highnesse Sconcurrence) bath so wrought, that in these Later dayes (the Darkness of Times past dispiers) a new and veritable Light hath appeared unto m; We heartily and humble

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cloistered saverie (the very path unto most certaine Perdition) and restore us to our Spiritual liberty; for which doing (to express our Gratitude) wee (freely and not any wayes ensorced, whom nor feare nor yet collusion Drawes thereto) Give you all our Houses, Goods and Lands, nay surificiation to bee your owne for ever. — These Bookes I dispiered through all the Monasteries, and Commanded that every one should subscribe them, who would not to be forthwith hang'd. But especially all the Abbots & Superiors, that the rest might by their suffering be intimidated; so that divers through the seare of death (as though really from their proper motives) were induc'd to underwrite these Papers.

Carol. I have figned also many things constrainedly, and (what is wor se) been forc'd to sweare I did so willingly. But so farre was this my easiness from availing me (especially about the City of London) that (after all whatfoe rethey ask'd me I had given them with a full compliance) they still more and more increased their tumults; and observing all my Castles, Strengths and Navie, taken from me (with the totall Militia) it was then (when no meanes else were left me) that I betooke my selfe first unto Armes, whereby to Guard my life my Crowne, and my Dignity; wherefore (fetting up my Kingly Standart) the most faithfull of my Subjects flie to me, whose numbers in short time so increased that I wag'd seaven warre with the Parliament. During which time it was Remarkable to fee how (more then others) the Roman Catholiques flock'd to me, and (for my good) expos'd their Lives and fortunes. Those to wit who were formerly traduc'd (by the

the obloquies of most slanderous Calumniators) as suspected to both King and Kingdomes, for refusing of the oath of Allegeance) in which point they never yet were found defective) though falfly therefore called Recufants, but which also exacted from their Consciences an abjuration of the Popes authority, and an acknowledgment of my Spirituall Supremacy, these very men I fay, though they tooke not that Oath, yet (un(worne) they never stucke at any thing in the weh they might be Loyall to me and faithfull. But the Covenanters (call them Protestants or Puritanes (what did they (though against their Oathes, and highly abjuring any such kind of Practice) but ev'n Tooth and naile bend all their forces to deprive their King of Life and Dignity. Nor wanted these their Plots at last success; For (money falling short to pay the Soldiers (whom I therefore was constrained to dismisse) being my Selfe of all things destitute to extremity) I was glad (as to my very last refuge) to betake my selse wholly to the Scots. But (oh unheard of and most shamefull perfidiousness!) those fold me to who would give most for me, by which meanes thus tost from Prison to Prison, these miseries as you see have overwhelmed me.

Henric. I wonder not (by the Parliaments authority and infinuations) that some of thine have lest thee;
But how commeth it, that thy Country-men the Scots
have taken Armes against thee, joyning with thy Enemies?

Carol. This threefold defection (by the Scots) was indeed my utter ruine and overthrow; for if only I had contested with the English (by the ayd of other faithful

of my Subjects (more in number very many then the Rebels) aswell in England as also in Ireland, I should easily have made good my Prerogative. But the Scots (on this occasion) fell from me. I fancying (for footh) as Head of the Church, that it belonged most peculiarly unto me, that not only the same tenor of Faith, through the extent of my whole Dominions, but the same Service also, Rights and likewise Ceremonies, should be uniformly in the same observed (the Archbishop thereto most of all exhorting me, whom I Reverenc'd as though indeed some Patriarck) I commanded the Book of Common Prayer (a Forme of thy Son Edwards first composing) and the Surplice to be used by the Scots, who had not any either Publique forme of worship, or other decency of Ornaments in their Church, but (as now it is the fashion at Geneva) every one Babbl'd as hee pleases his owne impertinencies; Arially threatning with Exemplary punishment who thereto should not yeeld due obedience; which the people of Scotland observing, and that already it was put in practice, cryed out Popery is now violently Forced upon us. Then tumults day by day increased, wch the Calvanist Ministers fomented, who consulting the Puritanes of England (especially Hambden the chiefe of that faction) joyntly brought in the Scots upon this Nation (then in Peace) who with their Armies invaded it. This incursion (so rebellious) of those Traitors (like a River when its Bankes are broken downe) overflow'd my totall Réalmes with Sedition.

Henric. Is it not as cleare then (tell me Charles) as Noone day, that our inauspications affecting Church Supremacy hath confounded us in this (ort which now thou sees).

Carel. Very true it is nor voyd of reason for so being; yet doe I not reach how all those evils rather ceized not thee (the first invader of the English Primacie) who (conventing all the States of thy Kingdome, caus'd this Title of chiese Head of the Church to be confirmed upon thy Selfe and thy Successors) Then poore mee who have but keep'd (and that too peaceably) what my Ancestors by their wills had left to me.

Henric. Oh Charles, how art thou grofly deceived if thouthinkest I doe not share in thy missortunes? No Sin yet ever escap'd unpunish'd, nor was impunity ever allow'd to wicked persons. And to passe by what now at present I suffer) what tortures did not then diftort me, when my Executioners were those three Manspillers Avarice, Cruelty and Lust. - And as for avarice so unsatiably it raigned in me, that having subverted 376. Religious houses, and snatcht away their Lands and Goods (by an Edict to that purpose which I made) scarcely one yeare had yet been fully gone about before I vex'd with fuch high Taxes all my Subieds as had never been before from them exacted, by which morfell now made keene and flesh'd (as it were) not long after (oh how rich and Orulent!) I confifcated what remain'd o'th Church revenues, in the interim I gave hopes unto the Laytie that those goods of the Church would goe fo farre with me, as to free them for ever from exactions; a Hearing fo gratefull to the People, that they impenfly for it favoured my abreptions? But so fool'd they were in these their expectations, that I alone a little after more oppress'd them then in fifry yeares before my Predeceffors, after

I had spoyl'd and raz'd a thousand Churches taken all unto my use that balong unto them, all their Coine, and Sacred vessels robb'd them of, Brasse, Lead, Shards, Seelings, nay even the very Rubbish set to sale (with all else vendible) besides two Chests from our the Church of Canterbury (so massie scarce fouse men could carry one of them) fo well cramb'd they were with Gold and pretious Stones) after all (I fay) these things had been thus rob'd by me, I was reduc'd unto fuch very great indigence, that whereas I mix'd at first but two of Brass only, with ten ounces (by my Edia) of good Silver, I afterwards with two of current Silver mix'd ten ounces of adulterate Brass; thus tottur'd (as you see) with endless Avarice; nor less roughly by my cruelties handled; - For full 20. yeares at least together (whilest I liv'd in the Communion of the Church) no one ever of the Kings shed less Blood, in all which time two only suffer'd of my Nobility; But afterwards when I fell from the Church (not more thirsty of Gold then of Blood) of all conditions all Ages, and all Sexes I exhibited a most fearfull Massacre. And that upon no other Demerit but that onely they withstood my voluptuousnesse. Foure Queens (with either Steele or Imprisonments) I tooke a vay which were the Conforts of my Bed two young Princesses, and also two Cardinals (proscribing in his absence, the Third) who was very neare in Blood to me ally d. Dukes, Marquesses, Counts or Sons of Counts at least a dozen I pur publiquely to death; Barons, Knights Bannerets, or Knights to the number of 20 wanting two. Abbots and Priors 13 Priests and Religious 77. of leffer ranke and of the vulgar infinit. And

And (whilest belching thus on all sides my cruelties) the faithfullest of my Subjects most feared me, as witness that most horrid Catastrophe of Cardinall Wolfey of Cromwell and the Bullens, of the Howards of Morrice, and lastly Compton. But as for Lust fo very infariably was I lost in it, that divorcing my best and lawfull Wife, I saw not any thing of that Sex the which I burnt not for, nor scacely did I lust that woman whom I one way or other did not violate. Was it not also for the punishment of my Sins, that your Father and your Self have raign'd in England? Who lest nothing on my part unattempted, which I could thinke of to hinder your succession, that I might fix it by a masculine Birth unto the house of which my Self was discended ? Two wives I forc'd unjustly from my Bed, and as many made to quit this Life; The fifth (who fell in troublesome Labour) I commauded to be ripp'd up alive, to the end to fave the Infant which the went with, thus barbaroully and inhumanely adding: That it was easier to get more wives then children. The 6.th I also afterwards married (whom when thinking to have spilt, my selfe I perish'd). Yet (for all this my caring for Posterity (during fifty yeares time of my Life) no one ever lived long of my Survivors. A Boy indeed (of Nine yeares old) fucceeded me in the usurped Supremacie, little knowing how to Governe himself, but much lesse the helme of Church jurisdiction, who had also first departed this Life before attaining to his youthfull age. Mary also my legitimate Daughter (who cast out Herisie) enterd afterwards to the Crowne, of whose Child I could have very well hoped (five yeares married to the Catholike

tholique King) But that God (the just revenger of Homicides, Rapes Incests and likewise of Sacraledge) barr'd my feed from inheriting the Earth nor in vaine are his words or to be laugh'd at (thus importing) that the dayes of the Sons Shall be cut Shorter for the Fathers offences; -- She dying soone after without issue, this Empire was translated into thy Line; But Elizabeth that illegimate Daughter of mine (begot in incest, and judg'd incapable of Governing by the Parliament, and my Selfe thereto affenting) step'd however into the Kingly throne, and would be called for footh) the bead of the Church by my example, under whose womanish Popelhip at least a thousand suffered death for being Priests. But ridiculous is that Head which hath no Tongue; and a Woman (as the Apostle averreth) is not allowed to speake in the Church, yet is it admirable to see with what audacity she tooke upon her to usurpe the Church of God, who Missioning (with a womanish solicitude) her Ministers for the Planting of the Gospell, sow'd the seeds (as yet we see here in England, of a multiplicity of fowre-levened Herifies. And (after 17. yeares keeping her Prisoner) shee had cut off the head of thy Grandmother, doing acts of most unparalell'd cruelty by the example of my former Tyrannies, the discended without into -..... Thus (in the first Generation) ended my Progenie, so true it is what the King'y Prophet faid, That the feed of the wicked shall perish, Pfal. 37. and accordingly in another place. Their fruits shall be extirpated from the Ear th and their (eed from the Sons of men. I have been aimonished by very wofull experience of the truth of this Prophets faying. So (to wit) it hath pleafed the Almighty

mighty to laugh at the Councels of men. And this Reason the same Prophet Superaddeth, For they contrived Councels which they could not make good P1. 29. For there is no Councell which will stand against God Prov. 21. - as too too lare (and to my cost) I have found true, wouldst thou yet be more confirm'd of these fad verities? Unto Edward (when I dy'd) my Son, I left twelve Turors all reputed Catholiques, and (abstracting from the Supremacy only (which I defired he should keepe in his hands) commanded he should be otherwaies bred up Catholique. All Herifies this only excepted by my Will I wholy excluded and abolish'd. But (as violating the Wils of my Ancestors, and subverting what they built and Consecrated, (so many Temples and monuments of Religion) I deferve not that my owne should be observed; Amongst the reft the Duke of Somerfet was one (Uncle to Edward the fixth by the Mother) who (at my Death) I did as Guardian preferre to him. He infected (and my Son by him, with Herifie) brought in that (which most I Hated) of the Sacrament, which Queene Elizabeth (after both) Confirmed. A Monument I appointed for my Afhes much more fumptuous then ever any of my Ancestors, and yet hitherto I have failed of the same : (though slone, of all the Kings of Great Britaine Three children have in order succeeded me; Nor need I feare (now those are dead) to be forgotten, who (for my wickedness) shall atternally be remembred. I am the marke of all mens bate of all conditions. To the Cathaliques by good reason odious, cutting England from the Communion of their Church; abominated no leffe worthily by the Religious, as whose Families

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I have destroyed and sold their Goods. Equally execrable to the Church and Laytie; as first raising o're the whole Body of the Catholiques, that Persecution which to this houre afflicteth them. The Heriticks ev'n to death detested me (still pursuing them with fire and sword) Luther call'd me a stall-fed Oxe, and very often a most inhumane Tirant; Calvin drew out the fword of his Pen against my Tytle of the Head of the Church, which (fo monster-like) to my Self I had arrogated; and mark'd me out by the Dint of his writings, as one destitute of both feare and shame, in relation to both God and men. All the Literate will perpetually hate my memory, that I should root out and totally destroy so many monuments of Antiquity and Learning, such as scarcely in the world are to be Paralell'd. To conclude whilest I liv'd, the most did hate me, every one fear'd me, and scarce any one lov'd me. In my Later dayes (by the Furies of my Conscience agitated, like to Orestes) I would faine have incorporated with the Church all those Kingdomes which I had torne from its Obedience (and in what sever I was able) I endeavoured a reparation of those wrongs I had done my wife. This at last in some fort I provided for, giving caution by my last will and Testament, that (if Edward my Son should dye iffuelesse) my Daughter Mary whom I had before dis-inherited (borne of Katherine) should succeed me in these Kingdomes. Oh, how often have I talk'd with my Familiers, about this first (to wir) of bowing to his Holinesse, and being receiv'd againe into his Grace and Favour ? But having formerly cozen'd

cozen'd divers by those Arts, none would trust me (as being by all suspected) whom they cluded (as though feeking to entrap them) Thus abandon'd and forfaken by every body, I departed out of the Communion of the Church (these last words before my Death ingeminating) All is marr'd, - All is marr'd, - Monks, . Manks, - Fryers, - Fryers, -- my Buriall was just like that of Achab, in the ruines of a Religious house; for when my Body was conveyed hither (ev'n a Dunghill through over-eating and Opplerion) the Lead (in wch it was wrap'd) unhappily unfawdering, as it was fet downe within the Ruines of this house, where while a Plumber (in all haft, to helpe it) ran this way and that way for materials) his Dog lick'd up my Blood most greedily. A revenge for that of Priests and Religious which I shed (Oh God) how just and deferv'd a one ? Dost thou not see Charles how in my Person thus suffering, God hath warn'd thee that I departed not unpunished ? ..

which deserve to be well ponder d to all aternity.

Henric. But though these things may seeme to mortals very grievous, yet (in comparison of what I suffer in Hell) they are meere trisses, and not worthy to be commemorated. For (besides what I have merited by my own) what seever I have sinn'd against another, what innovations I have forc'd upon Religion, superadd unto the increase of my torments; inasmuch as (by my usurping the Supremacy) I opened a Gap to all the mischieses of Heresies. Wherefore as (superadditionally) I am here tormented, by the arrivall of any new come Ghosts, so is it just (since the afflicted com-

fort the afflicted) that those very same, should have a Thare in my punishments who have maintain'd and keep don foot my Errours, as thou hast done; who (though the scourge of heavens just Ire, hath these ten yeares through three Kingdoms closely follow'd thee, and that too chiefly (for thy hatred to Religion) yet hast thou breath'd (with thy last Breath) a disobedience to the authority of the Sea of Rome (thy Bishop fo of London perswading thee) may moreover not the Primacy only which I left thee (but new Errors (introduced by Queene Elizabeth and thy Father) didft thou strive to uphold (of Prince Edward I here wittingly am filent) and (if other things be true which I have heard) thou stampd'st thy Coyne also with the

inscription of Protestancy.

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Carol. Oh Heav'ns, that That fatall Protestancy had never been hatch'd at least not come unto my Eares! It began (about thy time) in Germany when (the followers of Luther were called Protestants) whence it afterwards pass'd into England: And as Queen Elizabeth (oh Henry) and my Father, were the first of all those that went before them who protested thy Religion in these Kingdomes, whereupon hath come this name of Protestant. So (soon after) rose the Puritane faction, or the Calvanift, who impugned both the other, and our Ritual (or Booke of Common Prager) fee in force with the 39. Articles. Which (subverring all Episcopall jurisdiction) doth yet glory in being called Protestant. Afterwards springs a Sect of Independents which protests against the three that went before these are devided into hundreds of other Tatter-te-malion > and new-broach'd Opinions, which yer all will needs be

be tearmed Protestants, and perhaps as many more there will yet rife (from out the Hydra of this unhappie Reformation) which will alwaies be impugning one the other. Heaven grant that with the milke of my mother I had also suck'd in the Religion of my Ancestors; for my Grandmother not only dyed Catholique but shed her Bloud in the defence of that Religion. But, as others may condig'nly have been punished, for introducing or promoting of Errours; For vexing with much cruelty the Catholiques, and ufurping or maintaining this Supremacy, I certainly never innovated Religion of all others have bin mildest unto Catholiques, nay even next of all acceded to their Tenents. In fine I have exercized this Supremacy, with a moderation surpassing all the rest, and (by reason I did not judge it fitting, or becomming any Lay-mans underraking) The whole charge thereof (at least the greater part) I recommended to the Arch-bishop of Canterburie.

Henrie. But hast thou not observed that (of the whole English Episcopacie) only Canterbury in these troubles lost his head? (both Documents of the highest instruction!) Thou, for Kings; and, that Patriarch, for Prelates; who (if their Heads they would have stand upon their shoulders) must not make themselves Heads of the Church (by hereaster prejudicing the Roman Iurisdiction) but what availed it thee to have approximated unto Popery, unless throughly thou hadst embraced that Faith; for it sufficeth not to stand in the Portch, unless thou enter into the bosome of the Church. Moreover many (in these guises

gulfes below the Earth) are much more grievoully Tormented and vex'd, because they knew but have not exercized the Truth; that (in some things) King ... grippa was a Christian, was not sufficient to worke his Salvation; No (for that throughly hee was not converted by Paul) hee now burnes with me in æternall flames, did I not my Self sometimes professe that Faith in all particulars (only abilitacting from the Popes Supremacy) but Sinning in that one fole defection, I am guilty of all those other Abominations. But hee that spar'd not Paul his incredulity (doing things of which he then was ignorant) will not spare this most execrated Head of mine, who have wittingly, nay and willingly perished. But how faivolous is that which thou pretendest to extenuate the malice of thy crime, when thou faist thou didst not exercize the Supremacy, onely left it unto Canterbury to doe it. As though indeed thou hadft not Exerciz'd that charge whereunto thou hadft deputed another ? Nay more, I hold that Strafford loft his Head (so Provided by the aternall lustice) for that also He then carried thine (as being thy Vicar) in the Church of Ireland.

Carol. As I have not wholly been exempt from all fault, so having (proceeded) much more moderately in the Supremacy, and promoted more the Peace of the Church, then all these others (who have passed before me) I would faine know why I am the most of all punished?

Henriem.

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Henrie. Thou haft not observ'd (it seemes) that jealous God (who punisheth in the Child the Fathers faultiness) how he scourgeth the impieries of the wieked, to the third and also fourth Generation, least (if only hee should scourge us in our selves) we might think that any enormions impiety, would be easily and more fuddenly expiared, nor deferres he to punish rill fo long after that his memory who finneth should die, but least it should be forgotten that he was punished for finning; Thou art the third now (from the cradle of Schisme) who hath raigned King in which Generation thou sufferest; For though my two Daughvers (first Marythen Elezabeth) have Successively inherited the Crowne, yet those two with their Brother King Edward (who was my Son) make up but one Generation: if you number therfore either the Kings or Generations; - Edward me, James him, and thou James, have fuccessively and in order followed; nor hath it happened (but by the hand of God) that the heavenly vengeance should have fallen upon thy head (the most innocent and moderate of all the rest) To thew that not to much thy private Sins have been cha-Rized by his Rod of Iustice, as the Hereditary evils of thy office, with what impieties fill attend thy Titles, - as it is faid . The fathers have eaten fower Grapes and the Teesh of their caildren have been fet on edge Ezek. 18. Which take not as though Children intirely innocent fhould be overwhelmed by their Fathers faultinels'; For the Soule that finnes it felfe Shall Dye. But that such who are lesse faulty, nay ev'n innocent (as it were) in comparison of their Fathers crimes) doe vet suffer often something of their merit. For if shat

ked and luxurious Prince, I should not have sought for its infliction any where else; then from the crimes of such a Trus'd-up Potentate. But that my Subjects (who stile themselves Protestants) should (by taking off thy head) thus punish thee whom thy very Enemies cannot asperce with any crime, came not indeed by any other way to passe, but through that Capitall transgression of our Pride, in presuming to be Heads of the Church; and as I was the last of my name both King and also Head of the Church, so thou (Oh, too too unfortunate Charles) art the first of thy name that ever Raigned, and the last that shall be Head of the Church.

Carol. I feele indeed the judgements of God to have fallen very heavily upon me, for as out of one false Principle in Faith many abfurdities arise of Opinions. so out of one unhappie Apostacie from the Church, many others have followed after arthe heeles, which the newer and more recent that they are the more dangerous, and more to be took heed of. Thou began'it others increased that Sacraledge, weh when (afterwards) fome had fully perfected, I'at last bore the Heft of all, Thou (rearing from the Roman Obedience thy people and Bishops of England) would'A be accompted (Land were) independent; and the Head of the reformed Church ? Nowia Sect of Independants hath broke out (God revenging fo the Sin of thy Sacraledge) who regarding neither King nor Bishops, first tooke off my Spirituall head, then my owne Cut and lever'd from my shoulders; one Crommell in thy time then siv'd (of thy Cabinet and most secret Councels) who perswaded thee (4 King) to spoyle the Church; now another of that

that name (and not unlike him) forc'd the People to deltroy their King; Ob how just are the judgements of God and bis wages infant able of For (if not forner in our (elves) in our Posterities, shall we at last be rumish'd in that very kind in the which we have offended. Oh God that whilest I lived in this world, I had ferioutly pondered the ethings, at the least (when so much leafure fometimes fervid the) in the time of my most redions imprisonment d Happie man had I paus'd upon the feries of Gods judgements (from above fo threatning me) in the amatitude and bitterness of my Soule's bihad lelifure! (indeed) to dally with my Pen. and writed Booke of other things, a whole one, as my Armies how they came to be destroyed, of the mileries and diffresses of my Life, and the insolencies those especially of the Souldiers, but never once call'd to mind those very things which I should most of all have printed on my thoughts. Oh, Juxonius (fo I call'd the Bishop of London) or else Land my faithful Coun. celler and friend, why have neither of you admonish'd me of these things, either by Letters, or Friends that did commune with me; for being three yeares a Prifoner before my Death I had time enough to thick of all these things, But they had Eyes and they could not see. Oh, how Blind were all thefe that faw mee, and well may what followe's be applied to us;

At Length we Phrigians (but too late) grem wife.

Henric. This also I would have men duly Ponder, how the Parliament (the very name whereof's so I-dol'd sespecially by the effectinated English) is devolv'd now into a Lower house, both the Bishops and the Lords

Lords Ejested) in whose Votes was once the totall Authority, the House of Commons being not any thing regarded. A just punishment indeed for their flattering me into a presumption of being Heat of the Church, who themselves are now all trodsen under foot (fometimes fitting as the Heads of Parliament) And this by that third Order (without order, unto which they are so shamefully subjected). For England (as now plainly it appeareth) from a Paradice is translated into a Hell, in which no Order but perpetuall horror inhabiteth, where A man strong in Armes keepes our Court and holds peaceably his usurp'd Possessions. This third Order being growne to that height, that Kingly Government which had its Period in thy Fate, unless by Miracle can never hold up its Head. - Hence learne O jee Kings to bee wife, and take inftructions you that Indge the Eurth.

The Souldiers (then at hand) of Canavvell, understanding this hard sate of Monarchy, which shou'd hardly ever rise from out its Ruines tooke good heart, and (with great noise and laughter) ran in crouds from out the Church of windsor each one glad that he had lent a hand (by cutting off this head of the Church) to the execution of the Heavenly justice. But not knowing or lesse (happily) Ruminating, that the Father (oft-times) burnes the Rod with the which hee doth chastise his Child.

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IN MALEVOLOS HUJUS

ZOIL, ne laceres moi su mea scripta canino,
Néve meris dicas omnia suta dolis:
Extimus historia correx (volo) sidus habetor;
Vera sed huic intus ligna subisse scies.
Istaque corporeis licet auribus invia nostris,
Mentis at internis sensibus hausta putes.
Eia, age, mendacem me, carptor inepte, Poetam
Occine: narranti res dabir ipsa sidem.

ZOILY'S defist (with Currish Teeth) to teare
This works of mine. Nor it as (meerly) jears,
Adade up of Francis. The outmost Barks (indeed)
Is Fostion. But Truth dwels in the in-fide.
And what th' Eare strucks not entwardly. That (know)
Our Minds most inward sence both Heard and Saw.
Cease Criticks then, nor sing my 8 ooks hath Ly'd.
That story will find Faith, which Truth doth write.

An Extract out of the 8. Centurie of Michael Nosfredamus his Propheties, Stroph. 71. Printed the yeare, 1603. in the beginning of King James his Raigne, Father of King Charles late deceased, touching the Government now at prefent in England.

Om Low-Borne shall by Porce that Empire Sway.

Loofe, Faithlesse, Lamlesse, shall the earth begore,
Whose Time's so neare at hand; I sightherefore.

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Glory be to GoD.

FIN.

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Regnable seCVrVs et tVtVs.

Secundi boc ipso Anno 1660. — ?

E Numericus Alphabeta Literis ex S

codem Didustis.

CCCCC. D. D. LL. X. VVVVVVVV. IIIII,

Auspiciis Adsit Numen vivatog; Reversus.

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